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Among the other tribes polygamy, in the form of polygyny of course, is very rare and almost entirely unknown, while among the Isneg it has become an integral part of their social organization. Although far from universal, it is still frequent enough to allow us to call it an institution, the more so that in the unwritten law of the Isneg we find actually a definite set of rules that govern the contracting of a subsequent marriage before the first one has been dissolved by death or divorce, the inheritance of children born to people living in polygamy, and so on. Expressions like the following, which may be heard very frequently all over Apayaw, go far to show that the Isneg wants the woman more than anything else: "We are poor . . . , we are to be pitied . . . , we are starving . . . , we have no food . . ." (and almost always) "because there are no women in the house . . . , because there is not a sufficient number of women around".

When at the same time we consider that the principal reason for divorce among the other Mountain tribes does not obtain in Apayaw, it becomes more patent that among the Isneg the question of children is only of secondary importance. Indeed among the Kankanay and others it is an almost universal custom for childless couples to separate and try their luck with somebody else, while among the Isneg the absence of children is no reason for divorce: this has been told me consistently by all my informants, and the facts are there to prove it. It is true that sterile marriages are comparatively few, but still they are numerous enough to allow us to see that the lack of children is not necessarily a sufficient reason for divorce. A Bolo man and his wife *Bannáw* have been married for over ten years and still no children are forthcoming. *Tabtábal* and his wife (also called *Bannáw*) at Lettuakan, *Tóriyo* and his wife at Turatok, have been married for a long time without having had the pleasure of seeing children born to them. These places are all far apart from one another, and in no case is there even the hint of a possibility of divorce. The other Mountain tribes want the children first of all; to the Isneg, however, the women are more important than the offspring.

And so polygamy or rather polygyny has become an institution among the Isneg, not so much through the desire of the men to satisfy their sexual appetite, as through the absolute necessity of women in the household for economic reasons. As it is not my intention to make a survey of the whole subprovince of Apayaw, I shall

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595 merely cite here a few cases, all of them in the immediate neighborhood of Kabugaw.

The "presidente" or mayor of the municipal district of Kabugaw, an Isneg from Bolo, has been living in bigamy for many years, and recently he has taken to himself a third wife with all the pomp proper to Isneg marriages. *Ilsúy*, a former candidate for "presidente", who lives at the other side of the river from Kabugaw, once told me that formerly he had had six wives, but that unfortunately by this time two of them had died; notwithstanding the multitude of his women, *Ilsúy* has no offspring. A Nagbabalayan man boasted to me of the fact that two of his children of about the same age belonged to two different women. At Lettuakan *Kadáw's* son had three wives until one of them left him, with the direful results previously recounted (CAC-P, 3:146-47): the quarrel between *Kadáw* and *Pa-rây* and the killing of *Rukkadćń* by *Kadáw*. The late *Rukkadćń* himself, a Baliwanan man, also lived in bigamy, and the chief of the provincial police here, a Musimut man, recently attempted to take a second wife in the person of a Bayag girl, but the affair miscarried. Not so long ago, when I was going from Futtul to Tawit, my canoe was poled up the river by three Isneg: two women and their husband. And so on. Now, when one takes into consideration the multifarious expenses incident to the performance of the marriage ceremonies, it is beyond question that only the comparatively well-to-do can afford to take more than one wife, and so if polygamy is not more frequent, the reason again is an economical one.

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There does not seem to be any difference in the state of the women, in cases of polygamy; all of them are married with the same ceremonies and they mostly live happily together, helping one another in their daily work and each one attending to her own offspring. Quarrels do not seem to be more frequent among them than among any other two independent women living under the same roof, and both enjoy the same rights both during their lifetime, and after their demise with reference to the inheritance of their children from their common father. Not a few Isneg wives are even glad to have one or more other ones to help them in order to alleviate the heavy burden of feeding a much-exacting husband; and so, instead of being a source of disagreement, polygamy often brings contentment in its wake.

I would be inclined to say that polyandry does not exist among the Isneg, were it not that I know of one case: two brothers, *Bundy* and *Pílây*, married one woman, *Túnây*, at Nagilian (municipal district of

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. *Courtship*

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

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428 widower has been obliged to pay for his second wife, and other possessions that may have been disposed of before his death. Children who married in the meanwhile will have lost all rights of course, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage.

3. The father dies before all children are married. In this case the mother's property remains intact in her own hands, but all the rest is divided among the unmarried children. Should there still be any small children in the family, their share will be larger than that of the others, because they are not yet able to support themselves. The person who takes care of the little ones after the death of both their parents, is called *pakčbāy:* this kind of tutor may be an elder brother, an uncle, or any other of their kindred. Should all children be orphaned in childhood, one of their uneles will usually play the rôle of tutor or *pakčbāy:* he also will look after the division of their inheritance. The mother generally stays or goes to live with one of her oldest children; in case all of them are still small, she either continues to provide for them, or tries her luck with another husband. In no case, however, is she left destitute. Although everything, except her own personal property, has been divided among the children, this does not mean that they will fail to support their mother or that the latter will be forbidden to live at their expense, the more so that both grown-up children and little tots have nothing to lose by keeping their mother with them, even though all other motives but selfish ones be left aside and only the question of material welfare be considered: indeed in the Isneg family the mother is the real provider. An old woman always has a place at the hearth of one of her married children or grandchildren; why then should a mother not prove acceptable if she is still comparatively young and able to earn her livelihood? And this will mostly be the case if some of the children are still unmarried. Actually the eldest son pays the land taxes after the death of his father.

428 In case the father lives or lived in bigamy and never obtained a
595 divorce, there is little to be changed in the above description. Only two points are of special importance. First, no children can inherit personal property from any of the women except from their own mother. Second, if the father dies, his own personal property and all belongings held in common by himself and his wives, is divided into as many equal parts as there are or were mothers of unmarried children in the house. And so, supposing a bigamist leaves at his death two unmarried children from one wife and four from the other

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, 595
and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities: 428

1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely 586
theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, 425
only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so 586
on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been pre- 684
viously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, 428
the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is *"anito."* Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each